1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
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233 They are watered during the afternoon, and boys bring them grasses, especially *poon* (*Oryza Barthii*), which is very fattening. They begin to go to pasture with the older calves, under the care of herdboys, in about their third month and are kept apart from their dams by being driven in the opposite direction to that taken earlier in the day by the adult herd. They run with the herd when they are about a year old, by which time their dams are again in calf.

We shall have opportunities for noting further the attention Nuer give to their cattle and the wisdom of their methods. I have merely given in this section a few examples to illustrate a general conclusion reached in the course of my study: that Nuer cattle husbandry could not in any important particular be improved in their present oecological relations; that, consequently, more knowledge than they possess would in no way assist them; and that, as will be shown, were it not for their unceasing vigilance and care the cattle would not survive the harsh conditions of their environment.

VII

233 181 It has been remarked that the Nuer might be called parasites of the cow, but it might be said with equal force that the cow is a parasite of the Nuer, whose lives are spent in ensuring its welfare. They build byres, kindle fires, and clean kraals for its comfort; move from villages to camps, from camp to camp, and from camps back to villages, for its health; defy wild beasts for its protection; and fashion ornaments for its adornment. It lives its gentle, indolent, sluggish life thanks to the Nuer's devotion. In truth the relationship is symbiotic: cattle and men sustain life by their reciprocal services to one another. In this intimate symbiotic relationship men and beasts form a single community of the closest kind. In a few paragraphs I direct attention to this intimacy.

233 512 181 The men wake about dawn at camp in the midst of their cattle and sit contentedly watching them till milking is finished. They then either take them to pasture and spend the day watching them graze, driving them to water, composing songs about them, and bringing them back to camp, or they remain in the kraal to drink their milk, make tethering-cords and ornaments

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
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for them, water and in other ways care for their calves, clean their kraal, and dry their dung for fuel. Nuer wash their hands and faces in the urine of the cattle, especially when cows urinate during milking, drink their milk and blood, and sleep on their hides by the side of their smouldering dung. They cover their bodies, dress their hair, and clean their teeth with the ashes of cattle dung, and eat their food with spoons made from their horns. When the cattle return in the evening they tether each beast to its peg with cords made from the skins of their dead companions and sit in the windscreens to contemplate them and to watch them being milked. A man knows each animal of his herd and of the herds of his neighbours and kinsmen: its colour, the shape of its horns, its peculiarities, the number of its teats, the amount of milk it gives, its history, its ancestry and its progeny. Miss Soule tells me that most Nuer know the points of the dam and grand-dam of a beast and that some know the points of its forebears up to five generations of ascent. A Nuer knows the habits of all his oxen, how one bellows in the evenings, how another likes to lead the herd on its return to camp, and how another tosses its head more than the rest are wont to do. He knows which cows are restless during milking, which are troublesome with their calves, which like to drink on the way to pasture, and so forth.

If he is a young man he gets a boy to lead his favourite ox, after which he takes his name, round the camp in the morning and leaps and sings behind it; and often at night he walks among the cattle ringing an ox-bell and singing the praises of his kinsmen, his sweethearts, and his oxen. When his ox comes home in the evening he pets it, rubs ashes on its back, removes ticks from its belly and scrotum, and picks adherent dung from its anus. He tethers it in front of his windscreen so that he can see it if he wakes, for no sight so fills a Nuer with contentment and pride as his oxen. The more he can display the happier he is, and to make them more attractive he decorates their horns with long tassels, which he can admire as they toss their heads and shake them on their return to camp, and their necks with bells, which tinkle in the pastures. Even the bull calves are adorned by their boy-owners with wooden beads and bells (Fig. 13). The horns of young bulls, destined to be

6: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1938
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221 Hunger is partly responsible for the low pulse of life at this season. As has been explained, Nuer cultivate little and in most districts, especially in Lou country, they have to husband their grain if it is not to be exhausted long before the new harvest has ripened. They leave most of the grain in their wet season villages for seed and to support themselves during the hungry weeks that last from sowing to harvest time. They do not carry much millet to the camps so that they have to use it sparingly, though, if the camps are only a day or two away from the villages, women will sometimes return to get further supplies from the village granaries. When the dry season is well advanced the cows often cannot obtain sufficient pasturage of a nourishing quality and give little milk. Those Nuer who camp at the edge of inland pools and lagoons can supplement their diet with fish, but on the Sobat we only had what few fish boys could spear in the shallows and the yield of harpooning from our single canoe. From time to time members of our camp managed to kill wild beasts: gazelle, cob, tiang and giraffe. Otherwise our meat supply was limited to an occasional ox or cow which died and to blood from the necks of cows.

805 233 Camp life is regulated by requirements of the cattle and Nuer speak of periods of the day by reference to pastoral tasks rather than to the course of the sun, *e.g.*, they say that they will do something at the time of milking, or after the cattle are driven to pasture, or when the calves return to camp. The camp time-table varies little from day to day. It is approximately as follows:—

●512 234

A.M.

6.00 Everybody rises.
6.45 The cows are milked.
8.00 The cattle are driven to pasture, the kraal is cleaned and the morning meal is served.
8.15 Goats and sheep are milked and taken to pasture.

P.M.

4.30 Calves, sheep and goats are brought back to camp.
5.00 Cows which have recently calved come running home.
5.30 The herd returns and the cows are milked.
7.30 The evening meal is served.

6: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1938
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Everyone wakes before sunrise and satisfies the needs of nature. For about three quarters of an hour after sunrise men sit by their hearths protected by windscreens and women outside their beehive grass huts chatting, smoking and gazing at the cattle which lie, still sleeping, many with their muzzles tucked into their barrels, and chew the cud. Being close together they rub their bodies against one another and lick each other. They present a medley of colour: fawn, grey, mouse, black, brown, blue and chestnut-roan, with many variations of shade and distribution.

The huts and windscreens are generally erected in a semi-circle with their backs to the prevailing wind, though they sometimes form an almost complete circle and at other times are arranged in lines. Windscreens are of simple construction. A narrow trench is dug for three quarters of a circle and handfuls of grass are planted, root downwards into the trench. Each handful is beaten tightly against the last one so that a solid screen of grass is formed. The grasses generally used for this purpose are *dut in lum*, a tall coarse riverside grass called *wath* (*Sorghum lanceolatum Stapf.*) and *war* (*Vetiveria nigritiana Stapf*). Where camps are made near villages millet stalks are sometimes used instead of grass. All these grasses are tall and sturdy and they bend to the wind and do not break. Men sleep in the shelter of these screens on the hearths which occupy the whole of the enclosed space. Here the fire is never allowed to go out, and from day to day the height of the hearth is slowly raised by accumulation of ashes. Women make huts in the same way as men make windscreens but they bend the tops of the grasses so that they meet. They are then tied together and the sides are plastered with cattle dung. Within these flimsy shelters which contrast with the massive byres and well-built huts of their wet season villages Nuer spend about half the year. Sometimes, as at Yakwac, a camp is made in a wet season village belonging to kinsmen at the edge of a river. Then the men desert their windscreens at midday for the cool interiors of the byres and the women sleep at night in the village huts instead of erecting special grass huts. But even when, as in certain parts of Nuerland where there is no great deficiency of water

6: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1938
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they sit in their windscreens while the women and boys milk the cows. This task takes about half an hour and the cattle then remain for a while tethered to their pegs. Each household milks its own cows and if there are strong boys and girls they do most of the work, leaving the married women to cook and attend to their babies, but adult women milk troublesome cows which require experience and firm handling and if they have no adolescent sons and daughters have to milk all the cows of their household. 234 462 512.

Between 7-30 and 8-0 the cattle are taken to pasture. If some of the beasts are loosened before milking is finished they do not leave the herd but wait nearby the kraal till they are driven out with the herd. By this time the sun is high in the heavens. When there is good pasturage near the camp they may not be loosened till 9-0—10-0 o'clock because they will have plenty of time to eat their fill before sunset. Mr. Corfield tells me that they are generally taken to pasture at this late hour among the Eastern Jikany whose country is not so arid as that of the Lou. I gathered from statements of Western Nuer that in their country it is customary for the cattle to be loosened even later in the day. 233 512

No one gives an order for the cattle to be loosened but when all the cows have been milked someone begins to loosen his cattle and the others follow suit, the oxen being loosened last. The herdsmen for the day take them out of the kraal. Usually several men accompany the cattle for a short distance but some of these return to camp and only two or three men spend the day with them in the grazing grounds. Each household in turn provides a herdsman and the men who herded the cattle today arrange with others to herd them tomorrow. The adult occupants of each windscreen must take their turns as herdsmen. After being loosened, some beasts make at once for nearby water while others wait till they have reached their grazing grounds and drink there, for, about midday, the herdsmen accompany them to a pool. If water is near the cattle make their way to it, but if it is distant they have to be driven there. Herding is considered a hardship and is conducted by young adults. They have to keep a close watch over the cattle during the heat of the day in case they wander and

6: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1938
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233 512 [533] they may have to defend them against carnivorous beasts and human raiders. Often they relieve the monotony and solitude by composing and chanting songs. Nuer say that most songs are invented in the grazing grounds. Herdsmen have a quick meal before leaving camp [264] and, except when there are plenty of *heglig* fruits in the early part of the dry season, they will not have another bite till after sunset. However hungry he might feel no herdsman would milk a cow.

512 462 234 237 After the cattle have left camp the day is closed for the men, as far as routine cattle tasks are concerned, till they are brought back to the kraal in the evening; but women and boys continue their labours. Women milk the goats and sheep and prepare the morning meal. Boys spread out the cattle dung that has collected overnight so that it may dry in the sun and furnish fuel to replenish the household fires at night. They also smooth the part of the kraal occupied by their beasts by rubbing over the earth the nightly residue of ashes, urine, and dung. Boys assist in milking the goats and in taking the small calves to shade. They then take the larger calves and the [233] flocks to pasture. Older boys herd the calves and younger boys look after the flocks in the vicinity of the kraal. They spend most of the day playing games. If a small boy is hungry he catches a she-goat [857] and milks it, holding it by the horns with one hand while he pats its udder and squeezes its teats with the other hand from which he then licks the milk. Or he may suckle it. People do not object to small boys milking the goats they are herding. They are small and hungry and need all the food they can get to grow into strong men.

512 462 224 Not all the adult men have been idle while their womenfolk and the boys have been cleaning the kraal and milking. On most mornings parties of two and three leave camp at dawn with their dogs to pick up a gazelle or other small animal. They do not return to camp till after milking is finished, and those who set out at dawn to inspect their giraffe traps return about the same time. After the cattle have been loosened the men potter about for a couple of hours. Generally some of them are engaged in making utensils and ornaments or in dressing their hair.

6: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1938
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Much attention is devoted to hair-dressing in the dry season. In the rains the hair is sometimes neglected though never for a long time unless a man is in mourning. Nuer hair is naturally crinkly and black but when treated with ashes of cattle dung mixed with wood ash it is oxidised and becomes straight and golden. A man takes a heap of ash from his wind-screen fire, mixes it with wood ash, and places them on his sleeping skin where he removes any lumps, leaving only fine ash. To make the ashes finer still he beats them with a mallet and shakes and taps the skin so that the ashes are spread over it and can be searched for foreign matter which is then extracted. When he is satisfied he divides the ashes into two heaps, one of which he mixes with water. The Eastern Nuer do not use urine for this purpose as the Dinka and, to a lesser extent, the Western Nuer do. The scalp is now massaged with the damp ashes. When this is finished the hair is gathered into a peak at the back or front of the head and the dry ashes are sprinkled on top. The head remains for two or three days in its ash plaster which is then removed and the hair is sprinkled with oil. Nuer hair freshly treated in this way has a golden tint and glistens in the sun. Young men spend many hours in their wind-screens, after the cattle have gone to pasture, preparing their hair in this way.

By about 10 o'clock most of the men are sleeping behind their windscreens, beneath trees, or, if the camp is near a wet season village, in byres. Only if game is sighted is there any male activity in the camp for an hour or two before noontide. The men grasp their spears and with their dogs sprint after the animal to encircle it and run it down. After the first rains all able-bodied men leave camp to search for giraffe-tracks and if they find the animals they pursue them till they are exhausted and overtaken and speared. Nuer sometimes chase giraffe all day long and their endurance will scarcely be believed till it is seen, being especially remarkable when we recollect that they are weakened by hunger at this time of the year. But at the height of the dry season it is useless to hunt giraffe as they are too fleet on hard ground. While the men are sleeping the women are engaged in churning last night's milk.

6: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1938
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512 226 883 About noon youths and maidens bathe in the river wherever a shallow sandy stretch offers a clear playground. They do the same at inland lakes but much time is there given also to fishing. The young people sit and splash in the water and the sexes flirt and wrestle in and out of the water. At about 2.30 they return to the camp where the girls churn the morning milk and pound and grind millet for the evening meal. The men turn over the drying dung with their sticks and then, having nothing more they need attend to, most of them return to their windscreens though one or two youths may try and spear fish in the shallows and they are joined there by older boys who are not herding the calves.

512 233 237 372 About 4-30 p.m. the small calves are brought from the shade where they have spent the day and are tethered in the kraal. The men hold them between their legs and lifting up their heads compel them to swallow water. At this time the boys bring back the larger calves and goats and sheep from grazing. Members of each household tether their animals. Generally one or two men now go out to meet (*luor*) the returning herd. Others gather the dried dung on hides from the heaps into which boys have swept it, and each owner of a windscreen makes up the evening fire on his hearth. There is no need to light the fires as they have been smouldering all day long and it is only necessary to clear away surface ashes and heap the new fuel on the exposed embers. Dense clouds of smoke arise and envelope the camp.

512 233 462 264 By 5 o'clock cows which have recently calved come running home and herald the approach of the herd which appears from 15 to 30 minutes later. Adult men tether the cattle of their household and women and boys commence at once to milk the cows and they finish this work before sunset. The women then prepare the evening meal and finish their dairy work. The men sit in their windscreens and await the meal which is served between 7 and 8 p.m. Nuer eat twice a day: in the morning and in the evening. The evening meal consists of millet porridge, with cheese or butter, or both, poured over it. The morning meal is generally the remains of supper heated up or with hot milk poured over it.

6: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1938
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In a big camp there is often dancing at night and youths and girls pay evening visits to neighbouring camps to take part in the dances. There is a special dry season dance quite different from the drum dances of the wet season. It is called *dompiny*. A small hole is dug in the dancing place and a piece of hide is stretched tightly across it. A length of cord is stretched over the hide and is pegged on either side of it. A small stick is placed on the hide over the centre of the hole and the cord is supported by the top of the stick and slopes on either side of it to the ground. The cord is thus kept taught. The hole acts as a sounding box. The performer obtains music by striking the cord with a thin stick held in his right hand as he sits cross-legged before it and by muting it with his left hand or with a stick held in his left hand. By this means he produces rhythm. Sometimes another man beats at the same time with his hand on the hide near the sounding hole. The people dance and sing, men dancing opposite women. A man holds his hands above his head like an ox's horns and as he sings he steps backwards and the girls opposite him move towards him. They thus circle round the musical instrument.

Girls sometimes have their own singing parties in these camps. They sit and sing to a rhythm made by slapping their outstretched thighs. This is called *patpat*. Youths who are courting the girls often join them and take part in the singing. It is customary for young men to visit girls and court them when the day's work is done.

If there is no dancing at night—and in the smaller camps where there are few girls, and these mostly kinswomen, the young men do not care to start a dance—the inmates of the camp chat in their windscreens and at the thresholds of their huts for an hour or two after the evening meal and then fall off to sleep. Sometimes they chat till close on midnight and occasionally a man who is happy walks amid the cattle, ringing an ox-bell and singing for an hour or more. Sometimes an animal has strayed from the herd. Then everyone is sad and its owners are out in the bush till late at night searching for it.

One day in a Nuer cattle camp is like another. Calves are born and we see time passing in the stages of their growth. Nor does life

vary much from month to month for there are few seasonal changes at this time of the year. As the river falls it is possible to fish in lagoons and shallows and to bathe on its sandy bed. Then the lagoons dry up. When the river rises fish swim in the weeds and rushes and along some streams they are easily speared from the banks. The banks of the Sobat are too steep for this purpose. There are no longer shallows and bathing is a hasty dip for there is danger from crocodiles. The grazing grounds are changed from time to time as they become exhausted and as streams and lagoons dry up. At Yakwac there was succulent pasturage only where marsh plants still retained their moisture at the river end of lagoons. The people are still in camp when the first rains fall at the end of April or early in May and then there is everywhere an abundance of pasturage. The brown bush becomes green and the baked fissured earth a sodden mire. Dry lagoons become inland flowing streams. The scorching sun is clouded.

On the Sobat we guessed that the first rains had fallen inland by the migration of wild animals from its banks. Giraffe now left us for inland pastures where they would not have to face death every time they approached the river. Other animals likewise moved southwards, even the gazelle. On the northern bank, however, buffaloes still came to the river to drink and were attacked by hungry Nuer. Animals and men must obey the seasons and when there is no water except in inland lakes and lagoons, men, cattle, and wild beasts must drink at the same places. One can hear them at night cautiously coming to the pools to drink. When the rains come all leave for new pastures.

In May one knows that the move back to the wet season villages will shortly take place not only by cloudy skies and movements of game, but also by camp activities. The women are the first to leave camp and one meets them along paths, carrying their household goods in rectangular cane baskets. Youths leave camp early in the morning to cut stakes, generally of thornwood (*bwau*) and they spend a large part of the day shaping them into tethering pegs. They also twist new cord. The weather being cooler people do not feel so keenly the need to sleep towards noon. Everyone is becoming restless and

14: Huffman M-5 (no date) 1931
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occupies a place in the enclosure. Cane-stalks are generally used for fuel, although the women may go to the forest and bring wood. 354

The skin of a reed-buck is not usually seen in the Nuer home. A Nuer woman whose first child is a girl will not sit on the skin of the reed-buck as she believes sores will break out on her body if she does so. So the skin of the reed-buck is not as popular as it might be if there were no superstition attached to it. I gave a woman guest the skin of a reed-buck to sit on one day—thinking that I was honouring her, for it certainly was pretty—and was amazed at the way she suddenly sprang to her feet and got off the skin, explaining her actions by saying that her first child was a girl. 753

A visitor—if a stranger in Nuerland—is appalled by the paucity of the possessions in a Nuer family. What they have seems, even at its best, such a meagre portion of the things we think necessary for this life. Yet the wants of the Nuer are few. He wants food, a place to sleep in, cattle, at least one wife and as many more as he can possibly afford, and children. He wants also a good spear and club. These desires of his heart he wants to have supplied with the least possible effort on his own part. 181

THE WOMAN'S DAY

The day begins early for the mother. Soon after day-break she must take her large earthen jar and go to the river for water. She has a head-pad made of cane-leaves, with a hole in the middle of it—indeed, it resembles a huge doughnut. She puts this head-pad on her head and then puts the large earthen jar on top of it. She carries herself erect, occasionally putting one hand up to steady the jar. But usually she lets one hand hang down while in the other she carries her long-stemmed pipe, smoking as she goes. 512 482 [276]

512 she goes. She steadies her jar with her hand as she goes
482 down the river bank.

She rinses her jar with water, then fills it. She usually stops to wash her face and is then ready to return to her village. She calls one of the other women who are getting water, or if there are none there to help she calls some passer-by, who—even if it be a man—will usually stop to help her to lift the jar up and put it on her head. On the homeward trip she steadies the jar with one hand, as being full of water it is much heavier.

512 When she returns to her home the morning meal must
252 be ready by nine or ten o'clock. So she pounds the dura in the hole already described,[1] and sifts it until she has enough for the morning meal. Or perhaps she has a large stone, in which case she takes a small piece of smoothed wood resembling our rolling-pin and grinds the dura on the stone with it.

Then the fire is built with cane-stalks for fuel, and the earthen cooking-pot, partly filled with water, is put over the fire. It is supported by three little mounds of hard baked earth, and she keeps shoving the stalks of cane into the fire as fast as they burn away. The pounded dura is put into the water gradually, a little at a time, and stirred frequently with a cane-stalk having two small cross-pieces fastened at right angles at the end of it, made for that purpose. When the food is ready, the woman dishes up the men's portion in a large half-gourd which serves as a dish, puts the mussel-shell spoons in it, and calls the men to their breakfast. They go into the house and eat.

512 Then the women, if they are young or newly married,
264 eat where they will not be seen by the men. If they have been married several years they may eat together.

512 The yard has to be swept, the children fed and cared for, more dura must be pounded for the evening meal.

[1] [Cf. pp. 19-20, Category 116.--Analyst]

14: Huffman M-5 (no date) 1931
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

If there are cattle to be milked, the woman must milk them morning and evening. In the afternoon she must again go to the river to refill the water-jar. She usually stops to bathe if she comes from any distance.

Sometimes this work of getting the water-jars filled twice a day is not as merely routine as it sounds; it may be fraught with danger in this crocodile infested river. One afternoon about five o'clock, a huge crocodile was seen sunning itself on the river bank right in the path down which the women would come to get water between five and six o'clock.

The bank was steep, no one could possibly see the crocodile until he started down the slope. Then it would be practically impossible to get away until too late, because the woman would be burdened with her heavy water-jar, and that, together with the steep bank and her surprise at finding the crocodile there, would retard her escape.

But a missionary was passing in the launch and saw the crocodile. He realized its purpose, but not in time to shoot as he went by. But the launch quickly circled around again and slowly approached the path where the crocodile lay awaiting its prey. He shot the top of its head off; it gave one shudder and then never moved from its place. The Nuer in the launch wanted the meat, for crocodile tail in their estimation makes delicious steak. But one of the women missionaries in the launch objected seriously when the men wanted to cut off the crocodile's tail. She wanted to be sure it was dead, so that there would be no possible chance of any objections from the crocodile to the tail-amputation affair. The men did not seem to feel that a crocodile with the top of its head blown off would have much power to object to anything that might be done to it. But to appease feminine fears

14: Huffman M-5 (no date) 1931
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000 the pistol was brought and another bullet was fired into the lifeless body of the victim.

One wonders what happened during the next hour when the women came to fill their water-jars. What would their thoughts be as they stepped down the river bank and at a turn in the path encountered the brainless, tailless body of a huge crocodile? Would they think of the dreadful fate from which they had been saved, just because a launch happened to pass that way a few minutes before, or would they grieve because the choicest steak had already been taken?

● 512 The woman has the bulk of the work, but she seems to expect it. When the day's toil is over, the dura pounded, the two meals cooked, the water carried, the children cared for, the mother sits there in the light of the smudge fire which is made to keep mosquitoes away. She has had [521] a busy day. Now they all sit around in the firelight, visiting, or telling tales of long ago, or maybe they are telling [534] riddles. Some one may be strumming a native-made stringed musical instrument, another may be singing, and [513] yet the conversation goes on uninterruptedly. If in the light of the moon, bedtime does not come early—probably not until ten or twelve o'clock or later—but if it is in the dark of the moon, they seek sleep earlier and nine or ten o'clock finds the village quiet. Another day is past, the woman is in her home, her children about her, her husband satisfied with his food for the day and happy with her. What more could she wish?

512 The baby must be cared for during the day and taken
853 up and nursed every time it cries. The Nuer baby is nursed until it is at least two years of age, and more often until it is three or even four. They have a superstition that usually keeps the husband and wife from having
000 another child while a child is not yet weaned. Water

14: Huffman M-5 (no date) 1931
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Water must be heated in the late afternoon for the baby's bath. It is no short process. (Fig. 11) 512 854

A MAN'S WORK

A man's work usually begins at sunrise too. He has probably slept in the barn. He arises, covered with cow-manure ashes. He cleans his teeth with the ash and later on in the morning may wash his face and hands. While he may drink a large quantity of water during the day he seldom drinks any water before breakfast or with a meal. He usually stays among the cattle until he is called to his breakfast about nine o'clock. Then he eats and is ready to spend the day among the cattle. He takes them out to graze about ten o'clock in the morning and returns with them in the late afternoon. He loves his cattle. His day is a happy one spent in their midst, his human companions being other men who have taken their cattle out to graze also. His spear and club are ever with him. In the late afternoon he comes home with his cattle, finding his supper is being prepared. A plunge in the river every time he goes to it refreshes him. After supper is over visiting until bedtime is the usual close of the work of the average day. 512 [515] [231]

The day's work may be varied if any of his cattle are sick or if there is a dance which he wishes to attend. Or maybe the District Commissioner is in the village hearing cases or collecting taxes, and so he joins the throng and spends his day listening to the cases or bringing up some case of his own before this representative of the Government. 512 691

During the planting season, the fishing season, or the season when the dura must be cut, this daily programme of the Nuer man differs and his work for the day may be a little more strenuous. 512